PAPERS

Referring to Red River Settlement

# HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORIES.

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## PEMBINA.

*(From Ross' Red River Settlement).*

We have recorded in its proper place the arrival of several Canadian families in the colony, who were induced by the distracted state of the country to take up their abode at Pembina. Here they were joined by half-breeds, hunters, and others, with the addition of whose numbers they formed a snug little settlement; so that a Catholic church was built and houses erected. Pembina, however, was on the frontier, and as it was then doubtful where the international line would pass, those at the head of affairs thought it advisable to withdraw the people from that quarter, and place them in a more central locality, where they would be better situated both for instruction and protection. Other arguments were not wanting in favour of the selection of Red River for this purpose. The lands at Pembina were too low and wet for a permanent establishment, and at the period we have reached, there were grounds for believing that a rupture with the Sioux might occur. On the other hand, everything in the mother-colony had assumed a more favourable and more tranquil aspect. The implacable enemy of peace and order in the colony, we mean the North-West Company, was no more. The grasshoppers had disappeared from their fields; and cattle having been introduced, the hopes of the husbandman were revived, and it was expected that the colony would, in the nature of things, take root. Here, accordingly, the little settlement at Pem-

bina, after five years' occupation, found it convenient to transfer themselves. The first to suggest the change was Mr. Halkett, whose proposals were warmly seconded by the new and patriotic Governor, Captain Bulger, who succeeded Alexander M'Donell, in June 1822.

Governor Bulger was a staunch friend of peace and order, and certainly had the interest of the colony at heart. He was a just and upright man, strict and impartial. From the misrule of the times, he met with strong opposition; but being a man of judgment and decision, the colony for the first time began to exhibit the character of system and regularity under his rule. During his time the general survey of the colony was completed. He was succeeded at the end of a year only, by Mr. Robert Pelly, a cousin of Sir John Henry Pelly, Baronet, who was at that period Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

## LETTER FROM GOVERNOR BULGER TO ANDREW COLVILLE ESQ.

Fort Douglas, Red River Settlement.
7th December 1822.

Sir,

I consider it to be my duty, after consulting with Messrs. Thomas, M'Donell, Cook, and Pritchard, to incur the expense of an express to London, for the purpose of apprizing the Earl of Selkirk's Executors of the circumstances which have recently occurred at the Red River, and of the present state of the Colony.

It is necessary that I should go back to the time when I last wrote to you, which was in the beginning of September, and narrate the transactions which have occurred since that time.

It was upon the 2nd September—the day on which I distributed the cows, and which had nigh proved a fatal day to me—having been knocked down by one of the wildest of those animals, the horn of which, after ripping the sleeve, pierced the collar of my coat, and left a mark in my neck, near the jugular vein.—It was upon that day, that I first became acquainted with Mr. John M'Donald, Chief Factor, from Qu' Appelle.—Having been informed that he had said, he could furnish the Colony with meat from twopence halfpenny to threepence per pound, I called upon him, on the 10th of that month, to endeavour to make an agreement for the provisions which might be required in the course of the ensuing spring, for

the Colony boats proceeding to York Factory. After some little discussion, I invited him to dine with me on the following day, it being agreed that we would then enter more fully on the subject. About an hour after I had left him, Mr. Clarke arrived, to take charge of the Company's affairs on the Red River, and I invited him, and his assistant, Mr. M'Murray, to meet Mr. M'Donald on the following day, at dinner. They came—but as I was not prepared to say exactly how much meat would be wanted, nothing was decided upon that day. But, on the 13th, I wrote to Mr. M'Donald, mentioning what quantity would be required, and offering the price which the Freemen had demanded of me,—more than which, I did not think myself justified in giving.—Mr. M'Donald's answer, of the same date, surprised me a good deal. It stated that they could not supply me with dried provisions at a less price than sixpence sterling per pound,—but they had no doubt this would be lowered by the Governor and Council, "providing all those connected with the colony had no dealings either with Freemen or Indians."—I did not, as I have already stated, think it justifiable in me to put Lord Selkirk's family to the expense of sixpence per pound for meat, when I knew that it might be procured for less. Neither could I take upon myself to prohibit the settlers from dealing with the Freemen for provisions. But I again repeated to Mr. M'Donald, by letter, that I would give up all dealings myself, with Freemen, if he would undertake to supply me with meat at a reasonable price, and I named fourpence halfpenny per pound, being a halfpenny more than I had at first offered.

Before any answer was received to this second offer, viz. on the 14th September, the "Black Robe," with a large party of Indians, came to Fort Douglas, and announced that "Pigowis" would arrive in the course of the day; and he accordingly appeared in the evening, attended by a numerous suite, all armed. It was easily to be seen that they had not met in the Fort by accident, and that something extraordinary was to be agitated. At this time, the settlers were all occupied in trying to save their little crops, which were in danger of being entirely destroyed by the birds. I procured, however, a dozen of the Meurons, and with them remained on the watch that night. Pigowis, with some of his chiefs, went to the

Company's Post, and did not return until the following morning, the 15th, when he intimated a desire to hold a council with me, which I, of course, immediately complied with. He spoke a great deal of what they had done for the Colony, and of what the Earl of Selkirk had promised them—complained that we had got their land too cheap, and that we even diminished their presents every year. He stated that they had been to see Mr. Clarke, who was displeased with them for visiting the Colony Fort—that he had said we were poor and miserable, so much so, that the Company had been obliged to bring up our goods from the Bay and a great deal more not worth repeating here. Having in vain searched the records of the Colony office, for some instructions from the late Earl of Selkirk, by which to regulate my transactions with these Indians, I had no alternative but to conform to what Mr. M'Donell assured me had been His Lordship's instructions to him: which were, that a present should be given to them, with their quit-rent of tobacco. I caused both to be delivered; and, upon the subject of their land, I asked Pigowis if he had not, with other chiefs, signed a paper, conveying the land to His Lordship, which the old rogue at first strenuously denied; but being more closely questioned, and informed that I could produce, not only the paper, but some of the persons who saw him sign it, he confessed he had signed it, but without consulting his chiefs and young men, who were always reproaching him with what he had done. To stop his mouth at once, I told him that among us white men, a bargain such as he had made, was considered sacred, but, if he wished to break it, he had but to say so, and I would write to His Lordship's family to take away the settlers. As I had expected, he was staggered at this, and, for some minutes, knew not what answer to give. At last, recovering himself, he requested that I would not do *that*—he should be very sorry, he said, to see the white people taken away, but he hoped I would put in writing what he had said that day, and send it to His Lordship's family.

In the height of my trouble with these Indians (and it was upon a Sunday) I was surprised by the entrance of two of the Company's clerks, who, with a strange sort of grin on their countenances, handed me a letter. On opening it, what should

it prove to be, but a notice—dated the preceding day, signed "John Clarke, Chief Factor P. H. B. C." and addressed to me—not to trade with the Indians, on pain of being proceeded against, in what manner, whether by being cited or carried in chains before the council at York Factory, it was left to me to surmise. You will easily imagine my surprise—my indignation—upon perusing this precious production, wherein the Chief Officer of the Hudson's Bay Company formally denounced me as a contraband trader, reduced me to a level with Mr. Nolin and other adventurers, and threatened me with, I knew not what, pains and penalties. But I will quit this ungrateful subject for the present, and return to the Indians: they continued in, and round the Fort, while I again remained up with a small guard, to watch them, during the night of this *memorable* day, and, in the morning, at my desire, they departed. Soon after, a letter from Mr. M'Donald, refusing my last offer, was brought to me, and it put an end to all hopes of an arrangement with him on the subject of provisions.

On the following day, the 17th, it was reported to me that Pigowis' people were extremely troublesome among the Scotch families, in the lower part of the Settlement, and I was about to proceed thither with a few men, when two Indians, one of whom was Pigowis' aide de camp, rushed in a violent manner into my room. Not approving of such freedom, I took the aide de camp by the arm, and was walking him very gently to the door, when he made a sudden spring, turned upon me, and seized hold of the collar of my coat, while, with his left hand, he tried to draw his knife. I gave him a blow between the eyes, under which he reeled almost to the other end of the passage. His companion immediately set up the war-whoop, and was advancing with his drawn knife towards me, when he also was laid sprawling on the ground, by a blow from one of our men, who, just at that moment, had accidentally entered by the other end of the passage. They were both soon disarmed, and I ordered them to be put in irons, intending to inflict upon them such a punishment as would have the effect of making others behave correctly when they visited the Colony Fort. Receiving, at this time, fresh accounts from below, of the outrageous conduct of Pigowis' people—that they had excited a ge-

neral alarm among the settlers—that some of them were even within a few hundred yards of the Fort, and that one of them had presented his gun at a Swiss boy, and would have shot him, but for the appearance of two men: and, recollecting what James Gaddy (an old servant of the Co.) had told me the preceding day, namely, that Pigowis, on his way up had said to him, "he was going up to frighten this new governor," I thought it the best opportunity in the world of bringing him into something like subjection, and, having made the signal for assistance, which was answered in ten minutes by upwards of thirty of the De Meurons, I went with eighteen of them to scour the settlement, but not an Indian was to be seen; they had all fled—even Pigowis himself, on hearing the report of my gun, flew to his canoe, and proceeded in great haste down the river. But I was not inclined to let him off so easily. I determined that he should be a witness of the punishment of his men, and, accordingly, I despatched a messenger to desire that he would come to me. Late at night, the old fellow presented himself at the gate, alone, and perfectly sober; his agitation on entering my room was excessive; he trembled like a leaf; he could not utter a word, so greatly was he alarmed. I informed him how his men had misbehaved, and of my intention to punish them in his presence. I told him, that having been among Indians before, I knew well what was the duty of a chief, and that, if he could not keep his young men in proper order, and prevent them from giving trouble, and doing mischief, when they visited the settlement, he was unfit to be a chief, and I would take that coat (the grand scarlet coat) from his back, and give it to some one more able to perform the duty of chief. After this, to cheer up the old fellow's spirits a little, I ordered a glass of rum to be given to him, and a buffalo-robe to be placed upon the floor in my room, on which I told him he might go to rest. But he slept not a wink that night. The cry of "all's well," repeated by the sentinels every half hour, seemed to go to his very heart, for he invariably started up upon hearing it, and walked about the room. And, when at daylight in the *morning*, the drummer, a Swiss boy, began to beat the reveillé, so great was the old man's terror, that I took pity on him, and desired him not to be alarmed, as we were still good friends, and I only meant to

punish his men who had misbehaved. At eight o'clock that morning, namely the 18th September, the aide de camp was brought forth, tied to a gun, and punished with twenty-five lashes, Pigowis having, previously, in a very sensible address, told the fellow that he deserved the punishment which he was then going to receive. When the other Indian was brought out, upon Pigowis saying he was a very quiet young man, and that he would be sorry to see him punished for the first offence, I forgave him, which pleased Pigowis amazingly. In a second address, he thanked me, and exhorted the pardoned man to do the same, and to avoid doing anything in future which might make him, (Pigowis) repent having interceded for him. His Highness departed after breakfast, seemingly well satisfied, but, on his passage down the river, he complained to his friend, James Gaddy, that "I was the very devil." Reports were in circulation on the following day, that he had said he would prevent our boats from coming up the river, upon which I sent him word that if he, or any of his people, attempted to stop our boats, or molest in any way the persons belonging to the Colony, they could not escape me: I would pursue them to the extremity of the lake, and punish them in the most severe manner. He came up immediately to vindicate his character, and assured me he never had said he would stop our boats, and never thought of doing such a thing, and, in fact, our boats have since passed and repassed without the smallest insult.

The evening of the day on which the Indian received his punishment, namely, the 18th of September, the plains above Hayfield Farm were observed to be on fire, and, before eleven o'clock that night, the farm was in flames. Fortunately, all *our* hay, and nearly all our grain, had been got in, and stacked; but, to save what remained on the field, all hands were employed in beating down the fire, all that night, and next day, and part of the second night: and, in the end, we saved everything except the fences. But dreadful was the loss in other quarters. All the hay which the settlers had cut for their cows in every direction on the east side of the Red River, was consumed.

On the 20th another dreadful fire had nearly destroyed the houses on the west

side, and, on the 21st, a report from Pambina of the approach of the Scioux in a large body, alarmed me for the safety of the Settlement itself.

On the 25th September, Mr. Forest arrived in one of the Colony boats from Pambina with meat.—In the beginning of August, to insure a supply of provisions in time to be sent to meet the fall boats, I made an agreement with Mr. Forest for a certain quantity of grease and pemican, to be delivered by him at Fort Douglas, on, or before, the 25th September, and I gave him the loan of a boat to enable him to fulfil his agreement. He had only been able to procure a part of what he had promised, which I sent off, on the 26th, in a boat to Norway House, while Mr. Forest prepared to return to Pambina in the boat I had lent him, to endeavour to procure the remainder of the meat which he had contracted for. On the 26th, Mr. John M'Donald departed for his station at Qu' Appelle: to the very last, though we had disagreed about the price of provisions, I found HIM friendly, moderate, and conciliating. On the 27th, an armed party of the Company's servants, headed by Messrs. Clarke and M'Murray, broke open the house of a settler, named Larante, (who was then in the plains, procuring meat, which he had promised to me, in part payment of his debt to Lord Selkirk's estate) and carried away some few furs and dressed moose-skins found in the house. I confess, I was appalled when I heard of this proceeding; but I had little or no time to reflect upon the situation to which it would reduce me, when a body of the settlers came to the Fort—complained of what the Company's people had done—and appealed to me. "Are you not," they said, "our Governor, and will you suffer our houses to be broken open without your authority, and our wives ill-used as this poor lone woman has been?" What could I say? What answer could I give, but that which truth dictated—namely, that I was not invested with any power to interfere with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company? I will not repeat the violent language which proceeded from these men, upon this acknowledgment of my limited authority, but it was evident that there was an end of my influence, and, consequently, my means of doing good in the settlement. This unfortunate day had well nigh also witnessed the destruction of Fort Douglas: the fire having crossed

the Ossiniboyne about three miles above the Company's Post, was observed about sun-set, making rapid progress towards our Fort. All the men I could collect, proceeded to the plains, and met the fire at about eight hundred yards from the Fort, where they worked amidst smoke and flame, until, favoured by a slight change of the wind, they turned the fire in a direction downwards, in the rear of the Scotch farms. We had hardly effected this, when another awful fire was seen approaching Fort Douglas, from the Company's Post, (asserted, falsely, I am sure, to have been kindled by their people). All attempts to stop it were in vain, until it reached the creek, just above our Fort; there we first began to get it under, and a few drops of rain falling towards the morning, greatly assisted us in extinguishing it.

It had recently been made public that the Company had raised the price of dried meat to tenpence per pound, being double what others demanded. On the morning of the 30th September, I received notice to be on my guard, that it was Mr. Clarke's intention to stop the boat I had lent to Mr. Forest, and to seize the goods which he was taking to Pambina, to purchase the meat required to complete his agreement with me. This I thought was going rather too far. To the overthrow of my authority in the Colony, I had submitted—because I was not sure that the Hudson's Bay Company, or Lord Selkirk's Executors, would give me any countenance or support if I had employed force to maintain that authority against their Chief Factor—but I had not relinquished my right to ward off any blow, or resist any aggression, which he might direct against myself or the Colony servants. I sent him a copy of my commission from the Hudson's Bay Company, and desired to know whether he would, or not, acknowledge the authority given to me by that commission. Receiving no reply to this demand, and hearing, towards the evening, that he had sentries planted on the bank of the river, I felt convinced that he really meant to stop the boat, and I resolved to frustrate his design, if I possibly could. With this view I embarked, with the surgeon, and three of the Colony servants, armed, and ordered the boat to proceed on her voyage. When opposite to the Company's Post, we were twice hailed, and desired to come on

shore, and an order to the same effect was borne to us by one of the Company's clerks, in a small canoe.

Expecting that the next step would be to send an armed boat after us, and desiring most sincerely to avoid a hostile meeting between the Company's servants and those of the Colony, I caused three guns to be fired in the air, hoping that the former would be thereby led to think that I was in the boat, and, of course, prepared to defend it. The gentlemen in Fort Douglas, hearing the report of these guns, became apprehensive for my safety, and caused the alarm-signal to be fired, which, in less than fifteen minutes, brought upwards of fifty of the settlers, armed, to the Fort, about twenty of whom embarked in one of the large boats, and rowed up the river to my assistance. Happily, I stood in need of none. The report of the guns fired from my boat, followed, or to use Mr. Clarke's own words "answered by a great gun from the Colony House," had the wished-for effect, of keeping the Company's servants within their Fort. Late that night, I received, at Hayfield Farm, (having landed there, while the boat proceeded on her voyage to Pambina) a letter from Mr. Clarke. It was not to be expected, that he would condescend to acknowledge that he had been frustrated in his design. It was too mortifying a confession for him to make: he, therefore, affected an air of surprise, and wrote to me for an explanation of the cause of the firing, forgetting to guard against the simplicity of his clerk, who, very earnestly assured me, that "they would never have attempted to stop the boat, if they had known that I was in it." Certainly, if I had not been in it, it would have been taken, and it would then have cost, perhaps some lives, to retake it. After a night of intense anxiety, I returned on the morning of the 1st October, to Fort Douglas, benumbed with cold—faint for want of rest and nourishment, and most heartily disgusted with my situation. I saw that I must either submit to whatever Mr. Clarke, in his sovereign pleasure, might choose to do, or dictate; or openly resist him. To bow to him was out of the question;—to oppose him would occasion tumult, and perhaps, bloodshed in the Colony, and bring upon me the displeasure of those whom I wished to please. Nothing, therefore, remained for me but to quit the country, and I resolved to do

so, and to seek an asylum with Dr. M'Laughlin at Lac La Pluie until the opening of the communication would enable me to procure a conveyance to Canada.

On the following day, the 2nd October, I was surprised by the arrival of some of the Colony boats, from York Factory, with Mr. Kemp, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Mitchell, the blacksmith, and others from England. Mr. Kemp brought a letter from Mr. Halkett for Mr. Clarke, but not a line for me. In the course of the day, Mr. Clarke sent me a copy of Mr. Halkett's letter, from which, it appeared, that the commission, from the King, nominating magistrates for the Settlement, had not been sent out, and that Mr. Clarke was looked to, as the person whose firm, temperate, and decisive measures, would bring about a reform among the settlers. It was perhaps vanity, and a desire to mortify me, that induced Mr. Clarke to favour me with a sight of this letter, but, if I had before entertained any doubt, the perusal of it fully satisfied me that I had done right in not attempting to enforce my authority against him; for I could have had no chance of being supported or backed, against a person so highly esteemed, and confided in, by Mr. Halkett. On the 4th October, I addressed a letter to Mr. Clarke, containing a full and formal statement of my complaints against him, a copy whereof is enclosed. On the 6th, about twenty of the Meurons came to Fort Douglas, and stated that they had just heard a proclamation (read by the Bishop in the chapel) that the Hudson's Bay Company possessed the right of preventing the settlers from buying provisions, but that Mr. Clarke desisted, for the present, from enforcing that right. As usual, these men were most intemperate in their language—they said they saw that it was intended to make slaves of them, but—I will not repeat any more of what they said. Being that day exceedingly unwell, I sent a person to the Bishop to collect the truth of the story I had just heard, when he immediately sent me a copy (in his own hand-writing) of the letter he had received from Mr. Clarke on the subject, which copy is also enclosed. On the evening of the 10th, receiving no answer from Mr. Clarke to my letter of the 4th, and, being somewhat surprised at the non-arrival of the rest of our people from York, I mounted a guard in the largest boat I had, and proceeded down the river, to see if they had met with any

obstruction from the "Colony Chief;" but they had not: I met them on the next day about fourteen miles above Netley Creek. Having received from Mr. West, all the letters and papers, which had been entrusted to his care by Mr. Halkett, I landed, and made my way on foot that night to Fort Douglas; where I arrived at seven o'clock the next morning, the 12th. In the course of that day, a letter was brought to me from Mr. Clarke. It purported to be a reply to mine of the 4th, but it really was no answer at all. The circumstances stated in my letter were notorious in the Settlement: he did not think it prudent to admit them, in writing, and, therefore, as he must say something, he thought it best, after seven or eight days' consideration, to call them "fabulous" charges. I herewith send his letter. As to the co-operation, which he therein offered: it amounted to this—acknowledge me to be your superior—let me dictate to you, and I will assist you in dictating to others—such co-operation was not at all to my mind. Upon opening the packet from England, I found it to contain:

Your letter of 31st May.

Power of Attorney to grant lands.

Engagements with Mr. Kemp, the mill-wright, and blacksmith.

Statements of balances to 31st May 1821.

Forms of Day Book and Ledger.

Printed Forms of affidavits for pensioners.

Invoice of goods shipped 31st May last, but that shewing the prime cost, was detained at York Factory.

Sundry documents from Mr. Roberts respecting errors in Colony accounts. The tin case, containing Registry Books, and with a medal and flag for Pigowis, were likewise received.

I had the honour of receiving, at the same time, a letter dated 1st June, from the Hon. Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, enclosing a copy of certain resolutions, entered into at a General Court held on the 29th May. I received these resolutions with all due deference and respect, but it was quite out of my power to act upon them. Permit me to remind you, that I did not expect, when

I left England, to be called upon, at any time, to perform any judicial functions, for which I am not competent in point of ability, nor qualified by law. The management of the Settlement for *one year*, was all that I had agreed to undertake; and it was, as I understood, to give me more authority, in the eyes of the settlers, than I could possibly have, if merely the agent of the Executors, that a commission, as Governor of Assiniboia was granted to me. No provision appears to have been made to secure to me the respect and obedience of the Company's officers and servants in this District; what was the consequence? They treated me as if I had no authority at all, and taught the settlers to do the same, and to consider me as having been sent here merely to give them goods, and attend to their wants; to be, in short, their slave. Before the resolution of the 29th May arrived, the mischief was done; even my title had, by that time, been changed to "Monsieur le Capitaine," while that of "Monsieur le Governour," had been transferred to Mr. Clarke. But, even if the case had been otherwise, and if I had felt myself fully qualified, I could not possibly think of acting, while there existed in the heart of the settlers a power independent of the Governor and Council. The possessor of that power might not be a just, a noble-minded man: he might laugh to scorn our decisions, and invade our personal rights:—he might insult our feelings, by taking the settlers' daughters, and keeping a perfect brothel under our very eyes. I could not bear these things.

I consented, at the request of Mr. West, Mr. M'Donald, and Mr. Logan, to postpone my departure until next spring, but I remained merely as the steward of Lord Selkirk's executors.

In that capacity, I must now inform you, that there were six boats (including that sent by Mrs. Matthey for her husband) sent from the Colony, after my arrival, to York Factory, and directions were sent to Mr. Angus Macdonald as to the manner in which they were to be disposed of. The engaged servants of the Colony expected from England, and the baggage of the Swiss settlers, were to be the first sent up; and then, such goods as Mr. Angus Macdonald might think most requisite; some articles being particularly specified in my letter to him. It would

appear, however, from his own account, that Mr. Simpson took from him the key of the Colony store, and loaded the boats with what he pleased. It is very certain that they were more than half laden with private property, and servants of the Company, and their families and baggage, while a large proportion of the baggage of the unfortunate Swiss families, was, contrary to Mr. Halkett's express promise to them, left behind. Mr. Halkett, in a letter to me from York Factory, complained that there was an immense quantity of goods rotting in the Colony store at that place, but, when boats are sent down, with clear directions, to bring up a part of this property, if those directions are disregarded, and the boats otherwise loaded, who, I should like to know, is to be responsible? Window-glass was much wanted here; and Mr. Halkett had said he would cause some to be sent up, but all that came was, *one box*, which Mr. Halkett had given at York Factory to the schoolmistress. Sheet iron was a thing I had particularly requested, that I might be enabled to put up stoves, and diminish the consumption of wood, and Mr. Halkett wrote to me that some should be sent up. It, however, never came, and dreadful will be the expense of fuel, in consequence, this winter. I had requested that a double block might be sent up, but it came not. I had expected that a small supply of port-wine, and other liquor, for my own use, in case of sickness, would be sent to me from York Factory, but in this I was also dissappointed. A little sour, muddy Teneriffe, was thought good enough for me. Blankets, and duffle for socks, were two articles well known to be absolutely necessary in this Siberian climate, but, not a yard of the latter, and only three pair of the former were sent up. I had begged of Mr. Halkett to apply to Mr. Simpson, for an order to the Chief Factor here, to issue to me the Company's notes, upon my applying for them, and giving a bill on you for the amount, but Mr. Halkett, it would appear, had not sufficient influence with the Governor, to accomplish this most important object. I may also state here, that a complaint was made to me that Mr. S. had compelled the mill-wright and blacksmith, to work their passage in the boats from York Factory, contrary to the terms of their agreement with you. A similar complaint was made to me by Heden, the blacksmith, and his man, who have not

merely refused to pay anything for their passage from York, but have demanded payment for working the boats up. It must pain you to hear these things, but I am forced to mention them. I shall not trouble you with an account of the horrible life which I led, after the arrival of the boat; not for the half of your private fortune, would I submit to so much again. It made me so ill, I was obliged to take to my bed, from which I was compelled to rise, by a report (brought from Pembina by the Company's people) that the Scioux was there, on their way to the Forts. Though hardly able to stand, I got up, and kept the men employed day and night, putting the block-houses in something like a defensible state, and making arrangments for securing the women and children within the Fort: my intentions being, to meet the Scioux on the plains, with my two guns, and a strong force, and, dressed as they had seen me, when in the service of the King, and there to ask them what they wanted. Before my preparations were quite finished, two guns were, about eleven o'clock at night, fired close to the pickets of our Fort, at, as I imagined, the man on sentry. Thinking the Scioux had arrived, I waited anxiously for daylight, that I might see my way clearly. So soon as the day appeared, the gates were opened, and the first thing that presented itself, was a pole stuck in the ground, to which was attached a bit of blue cloth, containing some human hair, tobacco, gunpowder, and earth. The signification of this was understood, though it was evident it had not been done by Indians, and, in the course of the day, I heard what left no doubt on my mind, that the whole had been a trick of the Company's people, to give me more trouble; which, Heaven knows, was unnecessary. The next day, I was compelled to take my bed again, and was confined to it for seventeen days, in a room were my bed-curtains were kept in constant agitation by the wind.

During that time, a report was brought to me by Mr. Reynberger, who has proved a zealous and faithful assistant to me, in all my troubles with his countrymen, that some of the best of the Swiss settlers were preparing to leave the Red River in the spring, that the Meurons were also talking of leaving it in a body—of plundering the Company's stores, and going to the United States, and that he had heard,

a number of the Canadians, and a few of the Scotch, intended going with them. I immediately sent him for Witchy, of whom I had formed a good opinion, as he gave me no trouble, and appeared to be a very quiet, sober, hard-working man, and was always the first at the Fort upon an alarm. He came, and, in reply to my enquiries, frankly avowed that it was their intention to go away in a body, in the spring, to the Mississippi. They dreaded being abandoned by the family of my would Lord, and left to the mercy of the Company's officers in this country, who prevent them from buying meat and skins to clothe themselves—who would allow them perhaps two shillings a bushel for their grain, and make them pay forty or fifty for a gallon of rum, and thirty for a yard of cloth. For his own part, Witchy said, he wished not to leave the country with a bad reputation—he wished to go home to his own country, where he had still a little property. Seeing that Witchy's mind was made up, and, being apprehensive that, if they departed in the way they proposed, they might be induced, after doing all the mischief in their power here, to join the American Fur Company at Lac Travers, and be the cause of serious injury both to the Colony and the Hudson's Bay Company, I put the question to Witchy: "If the Meurons are provided with a passage to their own country, will they be satisfied?" The answer was, he was sure they would, and, if they could be certain of getting home next year, by the Company's ships, they would not think of going to the Mississippi. Upon his saying that they meant to have a meeting ont he following Sunday (the 24th), to fix the time of their departure, I desired he would make known what I had said, and that, if they resolved not to remain in the Red River, I recommended to them to make a petition to Lord Selkirk's executors for a passage home, and I would forward it immediately to England. In answer, Witchy said, he feared they would not get an answer in time to go home next year, but he assured me he would mention what I had said, and that, whatever might be resolved upon, he would conceal nothing from me. On Sunday evening, he called on me, and stated that they were all determined to go—some home—others to the United States—that they would send me a petition to be forwarded to England, and would wait until July next for an answer. On the next day, they

applied to me to allow Mr. Reynberger to translate into French the paper they had made out, and I acceded to their request. On the 28th, their petition was sent to me, couched in rather curious, but respectful language, and signed by thirty persons, half of whom wrote their names; the remainder made their marks. Two days after, some of those very men, who had signed their names to this petition, and who, in general, take the lead of the others, requested that I would not send the petition to England, as they had changed their minds. Mr. Clarke, they said, had told them that there would be a corps of cavalry raised here next summer, in which he would employ them, and that they would be well paid—and that the Colony store would always be open to them. This, with some other nonsense, which they repeated, as having been told them by Mr. Clarke, and perhaps a glass or two of rum, for they were all in liquor, had determined them to remain in Red River. Perhaps it may not be so easy for Mr. Clarke's successor, or mine, to satisfy them, should the letter of service for raising the cavalry not arrive. But, I am not answerable for what Mr. Clarke may say or do. I returned them their petition, and desired they would never attempt to impose upon me again, or to trouble me with their complaints. Witchy, alone, continues firm in his determination to return to his own country, and he has requested that I would solicit a passage for himself and family, *via* the Bay, next summer. As for the others of the De Meurons, it is quite absurd to suppose they will ever prove peaceable and industrious settlers:—the only charm that Red River possesses, in their eyes, and, I may say, in the eyes of almost all the settlers, is the Colony stores. Their demands are insatiable,—and, when refused, their insolence extreme. United, as they are, among themselves, and ferocious in their dispositions, nothing can be done against them; they never intend—they never will be able—to pay for what they get—and, mark my words, the closing of Lord Selkirk's stores here, will be the signal for them to depart. With respect to the Canadian settlers, they are, mostly, old, worn-out men, with large and idle families; they are finished *knaves*, and will remain here, so long as they can get what they want from the store: for which, it is morally impossible that they can ever pay. As for the Swiss settlers, their

hatred of Red River is insuperable; what little confidence they had in us, has been destroyed by the arrival of the boats without their baggage. Although news had been received here, that a party of them, which left this in the spring, for the Prairie-du-Chien, had suffered the most dreadful hardships, and had been compelled to eat one of their companions; and, in defiance of the danger to be encountered in passing through the Scioux country, nine more, (the best and most useful among them) left this, in the month of September last, for the Prairie du Chien; of whose fate we are still uncertain. Four others, (young men) proceeded to Montreal, in the canoe that brought up M. Provencher. One young man who had his feet frozen last winter in the plains, is now a burthen upon us; and next spring, it is but too certain, that all that are able—all that are worth anything—will take their departure for the Mississippi, leaving upon our hands, seven or eight old, helpless men, with large and young families, whom we must either send back to their own country, or maintain; as they are incapable of any exertion whatsoever. But I must now leave off, for the cold is so intense, that I cannot any longer hold my pen.

9th December, 1822—It is a dreadful tale which I have related to you, but it is a true one. It was only this morning that some of the Swiss women came to me, begging, with tears in their eyes, some clothing. They admitted that their husbands intended going away—they could never be happy in the Red River. I refused to give them anything. "*In the name* of God, what are we to do?" they said. "You have left our little property at the sea—and will you now let us perish?" I could not stand this reproach, and I ordered some things to be given to them.

It has not, I am sorry to say, been in my power, to place Mr. Kemp in a house of his own. It was the wish of Mr Halkett that, until Mr. West could get the Company's old Fort, he should be permitted to occupy Hayfield Farm-house. Mr. Clarke, it seems, could not spare the Fort, and Mr. West was, in consequence, obliged to take possession of his old habitation at the farm, where he still remains. What a pity it is, what a misfortune, I may say, that the good intentions of the

gentlemen at home, should, in so many ways, be counteracted by *their* people in this country. But upon this, and other matters, you will receive every information from Mr. West himself, next autumn. I have been obliged to keep Mr. Kemp and his man in the Fort, but I will put him in possession of the Farm, the moment Mr. West can, without inconvenience, remove from it. Mr. Kemp is a very steady man; he has been very industrious in his professional avocation, and has actually done a great deal since he arrived. He assures me, that he will have a correct plan of the settlement prepared for me to take home next spring. Like myself, he appears to have made a bad bargain; his year's salary will not pay and feed more than one of his chain-carriers, it being impossible to get a man here to do anything under three shillings a day, and his living; and, knowing this to be the case, and, seeing how zealously Mr. Kemp has commenced his duties, I really think a larger salary should be allowed him. Mr. Henderson, also, I consider an acquisition, from his steady, correct deportment, and his knowledge of accounts. Against the old hands, I mean Mr. Allez, and Mr. Angus Macdonald, I have no cause of complaint. They are attentive as I could wish, but they really do not understand accounts. They will return to England by the ships next summer, and, to prevent their being disappointed, it would be proper for you to send an order to York Factory, for their being provided with a passage home. Mr. Reynberger also solicits that he may be allowed a passage home next summer, by the Company's ships, it being his intention to return to Poland.

I have engaged Mr. Henderson, at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum, and his board and lodging, to keep the accounts and registers, until the arrival of my successor, who will be at liberty to re-engage Mr. Henderson, or not, as he may think proper; but in case he should not, Mr. Henderson is to be provided with a free passage to England *via* Hudson's Bay. Mr. Fletcher, the store-keeper, has behaved very well, since my arrival: his time will expire in May, but I shall keep him until the new Governor arrives, who can re-engage him if he thinks proper. Mr. Mitchell, the millwright, is, I think, a most valuable man. I was very sorry that I had no comfortable place to put him in in, but I have done my

best, and he is now *far better housed than I am*. Part of the saw-mill has been brought from York, and the remainder shall be brought in the spring. The corn-mill, it is agreed on all hands, cannot be brought up; and, it must, therefore, be re-shipped for England next summer. Mr. Mitchell proposes making a wind corn-mill, upon the model found here, only a small part of the machinery being, he says, required from England, and a memorandum of which I enclose, that you may order the same to be shipped in May next. At present, we have a hand-mill, which grinds from twelve to fifteen bushels per day, but Mr. Mitchell intends improving upon it, and it will then, he thinks, answer until the windmill is erected.

I have not parted with any of the oxen, though I have been teazed out of my life for them by the settlers. It is impossible, at present, to state exactly the quantity of grain raised last summer on Hayfield Farm, as but a very small quantity of it has yet been thrashed. It may be from five to six hundred bushels. We have received from the Scotch settlers, about six hundred bushels of wheat and barley, which I really do not know what to do with. I thought it had been settled that the Company would take our surplus produce, but I find they will not. This is a matter which requires your serious consideration.

I herewith transmit some queries which were proposed to me, on the part of the Roman Catholic Bishop of this place, with my answers to the same. It is necessary that you should give precise instructions to the gentleman, whom you may send out in the spring, as to how the Pambina people are to be dealt with, (see the Bishop's 5th query, the meaning of which is this—shall those people, the lazy unsettled, roguish Canadians and half-breeds of Pambina, get upon credit what they want from the Colony store—in other words, will they be supported at the expense of Lord Selkirk's family?) Mr. Provencher has assured me (and you will be pleased to inform Mr Halkett) that the chapel shall be removed in the spring, from Pambina to this place. What the R. C. Mission are to do with their land, I know not; they have no funds, and it is a certain fact, that, at this very moment, the Bishop himself is in the greatest distress. Would it were in my power to relieve him, but it is not.

The excessive coldness of my room has suggested to me that it would be a good thing if you were to send out a quantity of cheap room-paper. Last night, my room was completely filled with snow; in one place there were upwards of eight inches. You will judge from this what a comfortable, what a happy life, mine must be.

14th December 1822.

Illness has prevented my closing my letter until this day, and now all that I am capable of doing is to recommend to you:—

1st.—To get courts and magistrates nominated by the King.

2nd.—To get a company of troops sent out to support the magistrates, and keep the natives in order.

3rd.—To circulate money.

4th.—To find a market for our surplus grain.

5th.—And let it be determined whether the Council at York Factory are justified in preventing the settlers from buying moose, or deer-skins, for clothing and provisions.

If these things cannot be done, it is my sincere (it may be my last) advice to you, to spend no more of Lord Selkirk's money upon Red River.

Believe me to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

(Signed) A. Bulger.

Copy of a letter from Lieut. Colonel Robert M'Douall, to Lieut. General Sir Gordon Drummond K.C.B. Commander of the Forces in North America.

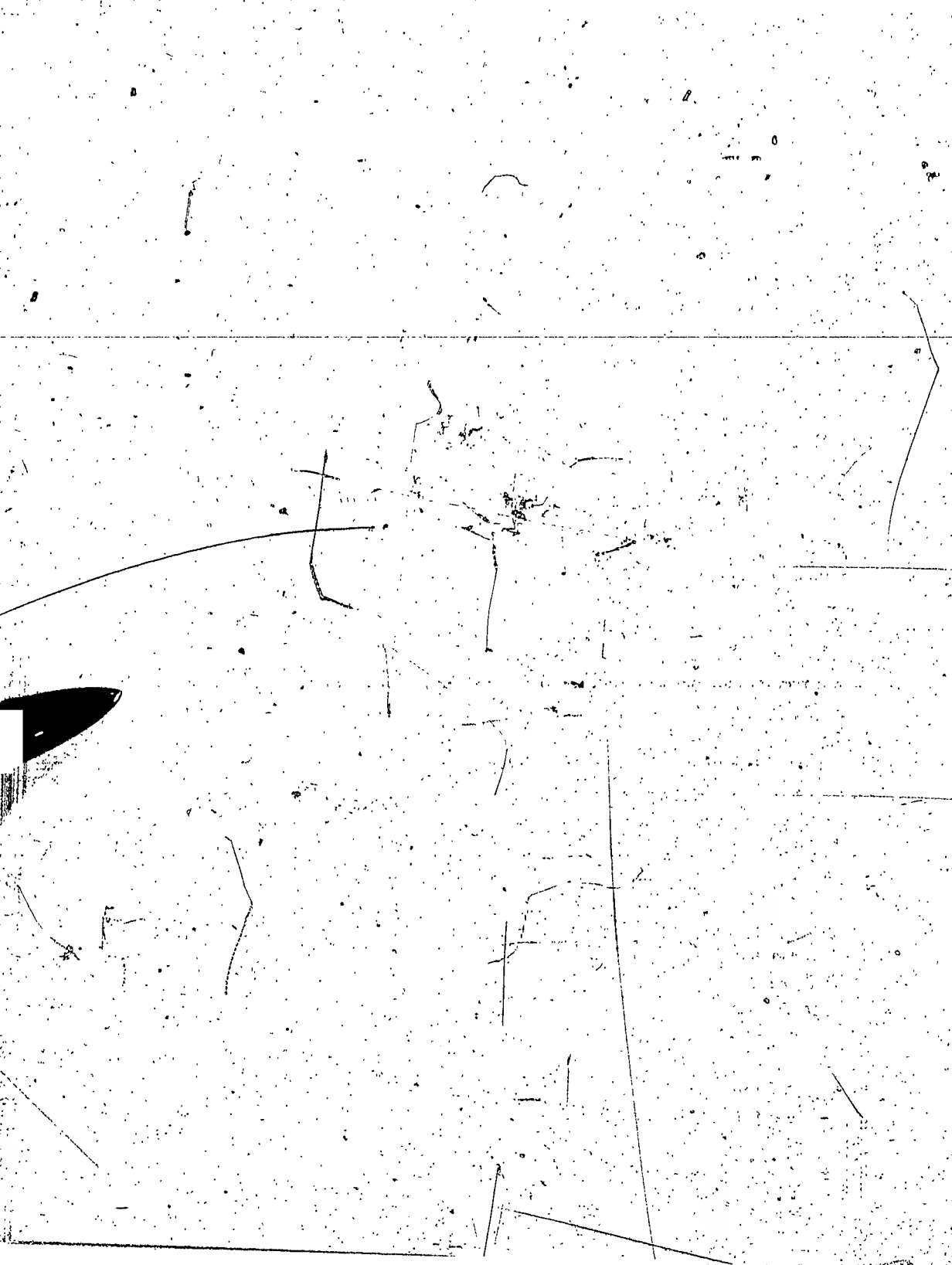
Michilimackinac, 6th July 1815.

My dear Sir Gordon,

I am perfectly aware how superfluous it would be in me to engross much of your time in dwelling upon the merits of the bearer, Captain Bulger, as during the period of his command at Prairie des Chiens, you must have had ample proofs of his zeal, firmness and ability, in situations (almost beyond precedent) singularly arduous and difficult. I selected this officer, in preference to others of higher rank, for the station, being fully aware of his capacity to discharge the trying duties thereof, and have not been disappointed. Alternately threatened by a formidable attack on the part of the enemy, and with starvation to both his garrison and Indians from the exhausted resources of an impoverished country; surrounded with lukewarm and disaffected Indians, rendered still more trying by the defection and mutiny of his own troops, and by the intrigues and machinations of that despicable, unprincipled, yet plausible wretch Dickson; I leave Your Excellency to judge, what soundness of judgement, what unshaken fortitude was necessary to perform his duty. In begging Your Excellency to peruse Lieutenant Bulger's memorial to H. R. H. and to transmit to him the same, accompanied by that strong recommendation, and warm eulogium, which it so strongly merits, I think you will incline to my opinion that since we have had an army, few officers *of his rank*, have before been able to adduce such strong claims to promotion. When high public desert, correct principles and unimpeachable integrity, are found united with the most amiable virtues of our natures, I greatly envy the feelings of him to whose lot it falls to patronize such worth. Captain Bulger has, for years past, nearly supported two sisters out of the scanty savings of a subaltern's pay. For the same urgent reasons, the same hallowed motives, (should he now *have* obtained that company he so well has earned) his utmost ambition is the attainment of some staff situation in Newfoundland, where his family reside, or failing there in Canada, or Halifax. I therefore beseech Your Excellency, to take under your fostering care and protection, this able and judicious officer, this excellent young man.

Believe me to be
Your Excellency's faithful
and most obedient servant,
Rt. M'Douall.

His Excellency
Sir Gordon Drummond K.C.B.



Copy of a letter from Samuel W. Blackall Esq. Governor in Chief of the West African Settlements to Lieutenant C.O. Bulger.

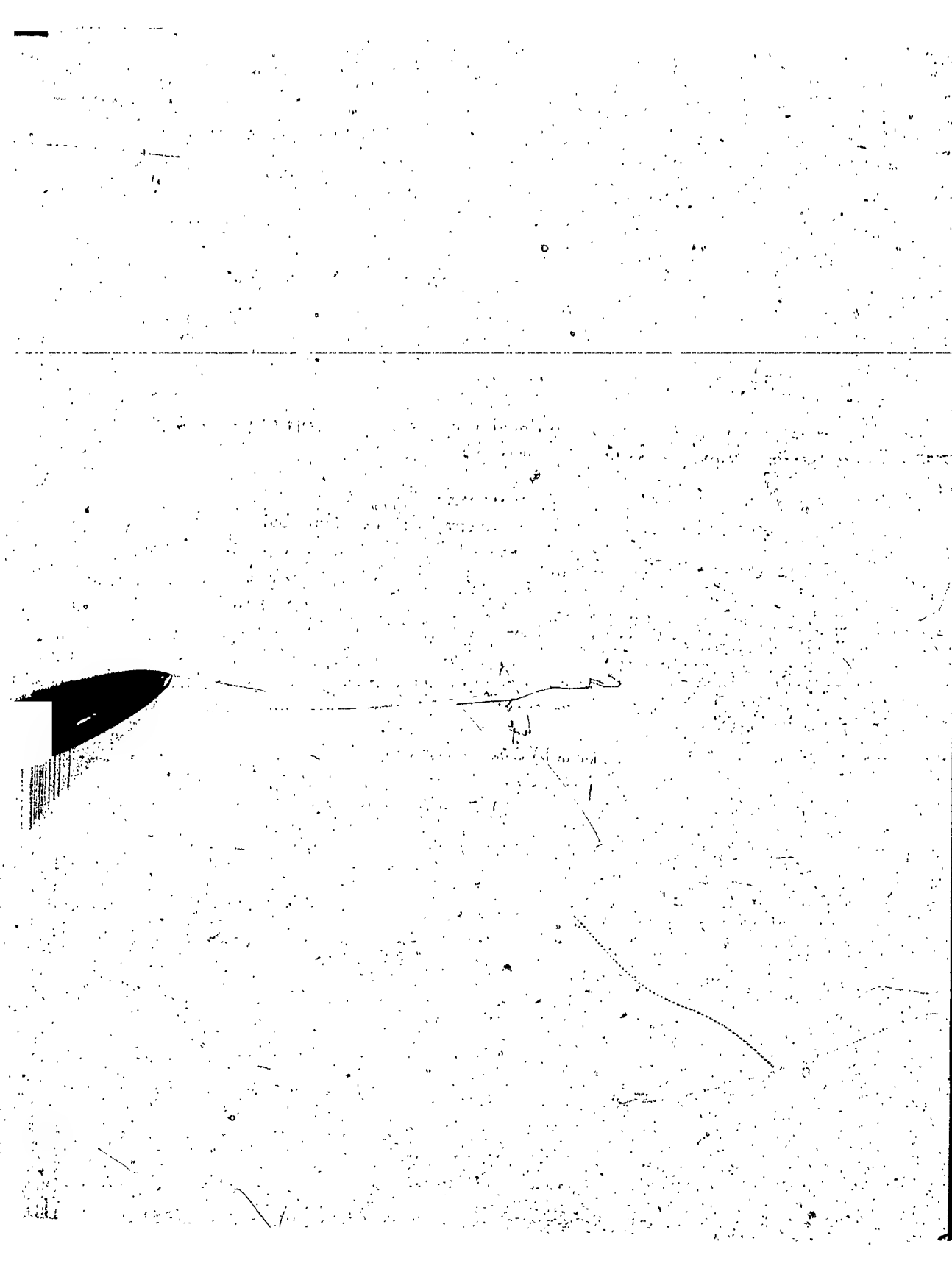
Government House

Sierra Leone 12th May 1867.

I have great pleasure in testifying that Lieutenant Claude Bulger, during the time that he acted as Civil Commandant and Manager of the Island of Bulama, displayed great zeal and talent in the administration of the affairs of the Island. The Revenue increased considerably under his management, and I had not a single appeal from any of his decisions as a magistrate.

I have every reason to believe that he gave satisfaction to the merchants and to the native inhabitants.

(Signed) Sam. W. Blackall
Gov. in Chief
W. A. Settlements.



From Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donall to His Excellency Sir F. P. Robinson K. C. B.

Drummond Island,
24th September 1815.

With regard to the charges transmitted to your Excellency through Mr. Baker, I have not the smallest doubt, but they are purposely exhibited in order to give some colour and pretext for the tragedy about to be enacted on Mississippi, to shut our eyes to that transaction, and to divert the Government from the enquiry, of how it agrees with the 9th Article of the treaty of Ghent. It appears to me that this outcry is precisely made upon the principle of some ingenious depredators, who when in danger of detection are among the first to bawl 'Stop Thief!'

I repeat to your Excellency my firm conviction, that the war of extermination with which the unfortunate Indians are threatened on the Mississippi, will be equally unjust, and unprovoked. Unjust, inasmuch as the Americans have no right to seize upon their country and build forts thereon, never having posessed it *till after* 1812. Unprovoked, as I do not believe that a single act of hostility was committed by them, since the Peace was announced by Captain Bulger on the 22nd of May at the Prairie du Chien. That officer made every exertion to recall the war-party that attacked the

Americans on the 24th of May, as mentioned in the letter of Col. Russell, but it was too late. They could not be overtaken. This affair your Excellency will observe is the latest act of hostility which occurred, and I pledge my word to your Excellency, that the Indians engaged in it know nothing of the Peace, except from American reports which they imagined were purposely circulated to deceive them.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
(Signed) Rt. M'Douall, Lieutenant-Colonel.

His Excellency
Sir F. P. Robinson K. C. B.

Extract from

Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, held by order of His Excellency, Major-General Sir F. P. Robinson K. C. B. Commanding in Upper Canada, and administering the Government thereof.

Fort Drummond,
6th and 10th October 1815.

President.

Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall Glengary Light Infantry.

Members.

Major Cochrane 37th Regiment.
Captain Stephens 37th Regiment.
Captain Payne Royal Engineers.
Captain Anderson Indian Department.

"The Court then proceeded to investigate the charges preferred by the American Government viz. "That the Indians had been stimulated to a continuance of hostilities since the peace, by the British Agents."

Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall again regretted the necessity which existed for his presiding at that court, being expressly directed to do so, by His Excellency Major-General Sir Frederic Robinson. It was his wish that that duty had devolved upon another, as it became necessary for him, in the absence of other material witnesses, to state to the Court every par-

ticular, having a tendency to exonerate his government from so unjust a charge. Indeed as almost the whole of the British Agents amongst the Indians, were under his orders, he feels himself particularly called upon to meet it, to repel the accusation as totally false, and unsupported, and not only unmask the calumny, but prove to the court, and to the world, that no sooner was the news of the Peace received at Mackinac, than the most active exertions were used to promulgate and make known the same among all the Indian Nations. In fact, perhaps on no former occasion, was more zeal and anxiety displayed than in the performance of this most important duty, not only in announcing the Peace, but enjoining an immediate cessation from hostilities and impressing, in the strongest manner upon their minds, the strict observance thereof.

*One circumstance must be ever regretted, as its consequences must be ever deplored.* The first despatch sent by Major Forster, Military Secretary, dated York, 11th of March, communicating the news of Peace, and enclosing a copy of the treaty, did not reach me at Michilimackinac until the 11th of May: the next confirmation of that event, was written by Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General, and dated Kingston, 28th March. The original of this despatch was nearly as long upon the road, as that of Major Forster, but a duplicate thereof, reached me by a trading vessel from Detroit on the 1st of May. This was the first official account I received of Peace; a vague rumour of such an event had before been circulated, but which only tended to increase our watchfulness and redouble our exertions for defence.

The great delay which occurred in forwarding these despatches, was their being unfortunately entrusted to persons of little energy and perseverance; *the season of the year too, rendered the journey infinitely difficult and dangerous:* the ice on many parts of that long communication, was scarcely passable: in others it was gone. These impediments tended greatly to protract the arrival of these important despatches: I knew them to be *so great*, as to have doubts of ever receiving them.

On their arrival, however, all was energy, as much as possible, to counteract the mischiefs of delay. The Peace was immediately made known to the Indians of the neighbourhood. The intelligent Chief Assegenack was sent to proclaim it to the tribes on the eastern side of Lake Michigan,

another to Saguna, an express was sent to Lieutenant Law of the Indian Department at Green Bay, to give all publicity to the news in that quarter, and to direct Interpreter Lecuyer to do the same at Millwakie and among the other Indians on the western side. I proceeded myself for L'Arbe Croche, and with great ceremony made known the Peace to the Ottawny Nation—all of whom smoked the pipe in token of their acceptance thereof. The intelligence was likewise forwarded to the officer commanding at the Prairie du Chien, where it arrived the 22nd of May: the day following, it was communicated in Grand Council to all the Indians in the place, and every means adopted to impress its strict observance on their minds. A captain of the Indian Department was immediately sent down to the Mississippi to announce the Peace to the Sauks, but unfortunately too late to recal the war-party of that nation who were engaged with the Americans on the 24th of May. This was the last act of hostility committed by any of the Indian Tribes. A party of Ottawas were engaged a short time previous (and what is rather strange, not mentioned in Mr. Munroe's list) near Fort Harrison. THERE CANNOT BE THE SHADOW OF A DOUBT THAT BOTH WERE IGNORANT OF PEACE BEING CONCLUDED—that both believed the operations of the war to be in full activity: of course, the aggressions adduced of an earlier date than these events, fall to the ground, *and the Indian Nations must stand fully acquitted of the charge of persevering in hostilities after the Peace was made known to them.* On carefully examining the dates, this important fact is clear to a demonstration, and is naturally accounted for, in their sincere and earnest wish to observe the Peace themselves, and that its stipulations should be adhered to by the American Government securing to *them* their rights, privileges, and immunities as in 1811, and of course exempting the tribes on the Mississippi, from having their lands occupied by the troops of the United States, or forts built thereon.

Anxious, however, as I was to inculcate on the minds of the Indians, the earnest wish of the British Government that the peace should be scrupulously observed, and lest any doubt of misconception on the subject should rashly induce any particular tribe to the renewal of hostilities, I determined, early in July, to send Captain Anderson, of the Indian Department to the Mississippi, with some presents to convey to the Indians

Faint

in person, the positive and renewed injunctions of the King, that they should faithfully abide by the late treaty. That officer conversed with all the principal chiefs, and not only *ascertained their pacific sentiments* but in *having every reason to believe, that they strictly acted up to them*; this afforded me more gratification, as His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond, judging from some statements in the papers of a continuance of hostilities (all however previous to peace being known to them 24th May), and with a view to a complete and total cessation thereof, directed me to send Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay to the Mississippi, for the express purpose; Captain Anderson having before been sent upon a similar duty, *yet* notwithstanding, and as *another* proof of the sincerity and good faith of Government upon that subject, I despatched Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, to acquaint the officer of the United States Troops, at Mackinac, that he was ready to proceed upon his mission, if he thought it necessary, but which Major Morgan declined, conceiving the previous steps taken to be fully sufficient.

The court then proceeded to the examination of the following witnesses.

Captain T. G. Anderson of the Indian Department, being duly sworn, deposeth, that he was at the Prairie du Chiens, on the 21st of May last, when the first official news of peace was received by Captain Bulger from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall, Commanding at Michilimack. On the following day the whole of the Indians were assembled, consisting of Sioux, Winnebagoes, Renards and Follavoines, in the Council Room. The Pipe of Peace had been previously prepared. The great Wampum Belt, by which they had been summoned to War, was *divested of its red colour, and rendered blue*, as a symbol of peace, according to their customs. The evidence was himself two hours busied in these preparations. The ceremony commenced with displaying the great wampum belt, which having changed its colour, was now the Belt of Peace. Captain Bulger, the Commanding Officer, then directed the evidence to make known to the Indians, that Peace had been made between Great Britain and the United States, in which they were all included. This the evidence did from a written speech, in which they were solemnly enjoined to observe the same: they were told that it contained the words of their

Father at Mackinac. It was tied with blue ribbon, and the seal of the Commanding Officer affixed to it. To render the ceremony more impressive, on Peace being mentioned, and the name of the King pronounced, a salute was fired from the Fort. Lieutenant Renville of the Indian Department, then went round with the Pipe of Peace, and to the best of his recollection, the whole of the Indians accepted the same, and smoked it, in token of their assent and acceptance thereof.

Nearly two hours before the council assembled, about six or eight Renards arrived to inform the Commanding-Officer, that a party of Sauks and Renards had left the Rock River to go to war against the Americans. Immediately after the council the same Indians were despatched that evening with a Pipe to overtake the war-party, inform them of the Peace, and the orders of the Commanding Officer to return.

On the ensuing morning, Captain Dease of the Indian Department was sent off to the Sauk village with the same wampum-belt pipe and speech. He was ordered to proceed with the utmost expedition in the hope of recalling the war-party or any other which might be meditating hostilities. He proclaimed the Peace as directed, but the war-party could not be overtaken. The evidence since learned that they were engaged with the Americans on the 24th of May; being two days after the Peace was announced at Prairie du Chien. The evidence believes the scene of action to have been four hundred miles down the Mississippi.

*Question from the Court.* At the council, did the Indians in general seem pleased with the news of peace?

*Answer.* They did, and some of the principal Chiefs expressed themselves to that effect.

*Question.* On proclaiming the Peace on the 22nd May were not immediate steps taken to evacuate the Prairie du chien and withdraw the garrison to Mackinac?

*Answer.* Yes.

*Question.* Were not strict orders given immediately on making known the peace, for the whole of the Indian Department and every officer and agent thereof to be withdrawn from amongst the Indians and to accompany the garrison to Mackinack?

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*Answer.* There were, and immediately acted upon. The whole—consisting of R. Dickson Esq., L. Nonore, Louis Barthe, Captain Anderson, Captain Deane, Lieutenant Lowe, Lieutenant Brisbois, Lieutenant Renville, Interpreter Grignion, L. Grignion, Desonier, Campbell, and Rock—returned to Mackinac, and arrived on the 17th June, two Interpreters excepted, who did not conform with the order, having their families and property at Prairie du Chien.

Fort Adjutant James Keating being duly sworn, deposeth, that he was Lieutenant Commanding the Mississippi Volunteer Artillery, stationed at the Prairie du Chien. He fully and in every particular corroborates the above evidence of Captain Anderson.

Interpreter Amable Dusang, being duly sworn, deposeth, that he was at the time alluded to, an Ensign in the Mississippi Volunteers, stationed at the Prairie du Chien. He fully and in every particular corroborates the evidence of Captain Anderson.

Lieutenant Brisbois of the Indian Department, being duly sworn, deposeth, that he was at the time alluded to stationed at the Prairie du Chien, and also fully and in every particular corroborates Captain Anderson's evidence.

Interpreter Louis Desonier, being duly sworn, also fully corroborates Captain Anderson's evidence.

Captain T. G. Anderson again called and examined.

*Question from the Court.* Were you not since sent on duty to the Mississippi by Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall, and at what time?

*Answer.* I was sent with some presents, and left Michilimackinac on the 4th July.

*Question.* Had you not orders from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall, strongly to impress on the minds of the Indians the anxious wish of the King their Father, that they should strictly observe the Peace which before had been repeatedly communicated to them?

*Answer.* Yes. I addressed them by his orders in several different councils in these words:

"My Children,

You have already been told more than once, that your great Father the King, has made peace with the Americans, and

that all his Red Children are included in it. I am purposely sent again to repeat this to you, and to acquaint you that it is his absolute command and desire, that you all bury the Tomahawk and not only live in harmony with them but with one another."

The evidence adds that the principal Chiefs, of all the different nations on that part of the Mississippi, were at different times addressed in the above words.

*Question from the Court.* Do you know of a single act of hostility having been committed by any of the Indian nations since the Peace was made known to them on the 22nd May by Captain Bulger, and by Captain Dease at the Sauk village immediately afterwards?

*Answer.* None, except that near Fort Howard on the 14th May, by a party of Sauks and Renards. It was the same that Captain Dease and a party of Indians had been sent after, to tell them of the news of Peace, but failed to overtake them. I am confident, had any happened since, that I must of heard of it from some of the Chiefs.

*Question.* In your conversations with the principal Chiefs, did they not express their determination to abide by the Peace?

*Answer.* They did, provided that the Americans observed it on their part, and did not attempt to build forts upon their lands, or advance farther than Fort Maddison, being the farthest Military Post upon the Mississippi which the Americans had occupied previous to the beginning of the war in 1812.

*Question.* Are you of opinion that if these encroachments were not made the Indian nations would with sincerity and good faith observe the Peace?

*Answer.* I am. They saw it was their interest in that case to observe it.

Interpreter Amable Dusang of the Indian Department being called, and duly sworn, deposeth, that he accompanied Captain Anderson on duty, when sent in July last to the Mississippi, that he was present at the different councils held by him with the Indians, and fully confirms the pacific sentiments and language with which he addressed them.

Interpreter Louis Desonier being duly sworn, deposeth, that he also accompanied Captain Anderson on duty to the Mississippi, and was present at the different councils with the Indians, upon that occasion. He also

fully confirms the pacific sentiments and language with which Captain Anderson addressed them.

Captain John Askin of the Indian Department at Drummond Island, being duly sworn, deposeth, that the first official news of Peace arrived at Michilimackinac the first of May by the Mink Schooner, Mr. Reaume of Sandwich was the bearer of the dispatches.

*Question from the Court.* Were not steps immediately taken to communicate the news of Peace to the Indian nations?

*Answer.* On the return of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall, from Saint Josephs on the 2nd of May, accounts were immediately sent to L'Arbe Croche of that event, with a notice, that in a few days it would be proclaimed in person by the Commanding Officer. The principal Indians and Chiefs of the Grand Traverse being then at Michilimackinac, it was there communicated to them, and a message to the same purport sent to their Village. Niebequam, a principal and intelligent Chief was sent with similar speeches to the Saginaw Indians and the Ottawa Chief Assegenack despatched with wampum and the pipe of peace, to all the nations on the east side of Lake Michigan. Interpreter Louis Nolin was dispatched with information to Lieutenant Law of the Indian Department at Green Bay and by him communicated to Interpreter Lessallier, at Millwakie, and to all the tribes inhabiting the west side of the Lake. On the 7th of May I accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, (superintendents of the Indian Department.) to Arbe Croche, where the Peace was proclaimed with every appropriate ceremony. A belt of wampum was presented by the Commanding Officer to the nation, to be preserved amongst those which had been given them on similar important occasions, to commemorate that event.

EVIDENCE CLOSED.

The Court not having been called on to give an opinion relative to the matters inquired into, together with its being obviously objectionable in this instance, when the President thereof, would have sat in judgment upon his own acts; trust that the clear and circumstantial evidence of so many witnesses on oath, will afford the subject sufficient elucidation.

In this view of the matter, no opinion or sentence being required, the

Court consider the testimony of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donall as a material part of the evidence, and is of opinion, that it should be substantiated upon oath.

Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall was accordingly duly sworn to the truth of the preceding statements, and also that the extracts which form the appendix to these proceedings are correct transcripts from the original documents.

(Signed) Rt. M'Douall, Lieutenant Colonel and President.
(Signed) Geo. G. Cochrane, Major 37th Regt.
(Signed) W. R. Payne, Capt. Royal Engineers.
(Signed) Robert Stephens, Capt. 37th Regt.
(Signed) Thos. G. Anderson, Capt. Ind. Department.

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General, dated Mackinac 4th August 1815.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your (duplicate) despatch of the 28th March, which arrived at this garrison on the 1st instant by a trading vessel from Detroit. The embarrassing situation in which this first official intelligence of the Peace places me, is greatly enhanced by the unfortunate delay which has taken place in communicating that event. The original despatch was entrusted by the Indian Department at York, to a character every way unfit to be the bearer of events of such importance."

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, Military Secretary, dated Mackinac, 15th May 1815.

"Your despatch of the 11th March containing for us the highly important intelligence of Peace being concluded between Great Britain and the United States of America, reached me at this place on the 11th of this month. By it, for the first time, I was enabled to peruse the treaty at full length; it is to me a matter of great regret that I did not receive it sooner. I leave you to judge whether the Indian Department at York entrusted

such a despatch to proper hands, when I inform you that the person who took down my letters in March, left that place thirty days after their departure, and arrived here ten days before them. In addition to other inconveniences, such a shameful and unprecedented delay might have occasioned (and may have for what I yet know) the loss of many lives."

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to Major-General Sir George Murray K. B., dated Michilimackinac 5th May 1815.

"I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that I received the first official intimation of the Peace only on the 1st instant, in a communication from the Deputy Adjutant General, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey."

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to Colonel Butler commanding at Detroit, dated Mackinac 6th May 1815.

On the 1st instant I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 16th April: by the same conveyance I received the first official communication from my Government of the termination of hostilities, and of the restoration of the blessings of Peace by the treaty concluded at Ghent. I regret much the unusual delay which has occurred in forwarding the original despatch from York, and which only arrived this day, as I could sooner have commenced my preparations for the evacuation of this Island, agreeable to the stipulations of the treaty."

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to Captain Bulger, commanding Fort M'Kay, dated Michilimackinac, 1st May 1815.

"The official despatch from Lieutenant-General Drummond to which I alluded in my last has not yet arrived, but this day an American vessel from Detroit, has brought me a duplicate of the same, confirming the previous report of a Peace and a mutual restoration of all forts and places taken on either side: you will therefore adopt instant and immediate steps for the evacuation of the Prairie du Chien, bringing with you the stores. The guns captured in the fort must be sent down the Mississippi to St. Louis if practicable, if otherwise to be brought to Mackinac.

"The whole of the Western Indian Department will accompany you to join me at this place.

"That rascal Cowen, whom you may recollect in charge of provisions at Nottawaysaga, has been five weeks on the road from York with the despatches, and has not yet arrived.

"The utmost pains must be taken that this Peace should be generally promulgated, and every nation cautioned how they infringe it, but above all, let them not imbibe the fatal error, that the supply which is sent them is an inducement to further hostilities."

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General, dated Michilimackinac, 5th May 1815.

"I visited the Ottaway nation a few days ago and proclaimed the Peace amongst them with the usual ceremonies, and in a manner that was peculiarly impressive; in fact I have spared no pains to render it palatable to the Indians of this neighbourhood, in general, in which I have been greatly assisted by my friend Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, who is so deservedly popular amongst them."

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall to His Excellency Major-General Sir Frederick Robinson, K. C. B., dated Drummonds Island, 22nd September 1815.

"I had before the honor of informing your Excellency of the arrival of Captain Anderson of the Indian Department from the duty on which I had despatched him from Michilimackinac in July, of impressing still more strongly on the minds of the Indian nations on the Mississippi, the conclusion of the Peace. I strictly enjoined Captain Anderson not to enter on the subject of politics, but to confine himself to the delivery of the presents, and strongly to recommend the strict observance of the Peace, the cultivation of their lands and attention to their hunt, the burying in oblivion of all jealousies and dissentions, and that the Indian nations should in future live as one family studying only the general good. These instructions have been implicitly attended to."

Extract of a speech by the Head Sauk Chief (La Moit) spoken in

presence of Captain Anderson of the Indian Department at the Prairie du Chien August 3rd 1815.

"My Children,

If they come up here as *traders*, I shall always be happy to see them, and to treat them well, but since you are not to have Forts on our lands, *they* shall not come up with soldiers higher than Fort Maddison, (their farthest post on the Mississippi before the war). We will strictly listen to your voice: but we are not women. We will not commence quarrelling with them, but if they begin to molest us in the least, we fear them not, and will defend ourselves like men.

"The Sauk Chief La Motte and the Black Hawk, having stated that the *Red Head* (Governor Clark) had allowed them thirty days to report at St. Louis, and that period being, as they said, nearly elapsed, and as they understood that the Americans looked upon them as their enemies from that period (15th or 20th August) they asked Captain Anderson what his advice to them was? He replied, that he did not think that the Americans would do them any injury, and as Bailvin their Agent, was soon expected up, their best plan would be to receive him friendly, and present him with the pipe of Peace on his arrival at their village. This proposal they would not agree to, stating, that they would not humble themselves so much as to give THEIR Pipe, but if Bailvin would present them with his Pipe, they would without hesitation receive it. Captain Anderson to get rid of this difficulty advised them to present the American Agent with the pipe which Captain Bulger (who commanded at Fort M'Kay) had given them in May last to smoke with the Americans on informing them of Peace. This they agreed to."

Extract of a speech sent to the different Tribes of Indians on the Mississippi by the Great Menomini Chief *Thomas*, in July 1815.

"My Brethren,

I send you a few strings of wampum, to assure you that my heart is clean, and that my wish is to live in strict harmony with all the world. Our Father has given you his advice. Let us therefore warm with one fire, eat out of the same dish, and smoke with the same pipe. By conducting ourselves in this way, we shall all live happy."

Extract of a speech by the Great Sioux Chief (Wabashaw) on the 10th July 1815.

"My Father,

I am happy that you show us the fine path of peace. in which our ancestors walked with so much ease."

Extract of a speech by the first War Chief of the Sauk nation (Black Hawk) August 3rd 1815 at the Prairie du Chien.

"We shall therefore listen to your words, and remain quiet, as my great chief told you just now, and next canoeing season I will go and see my great Father at Michilimackinac, and perhaps further."

Extract of a speech from Bordach a principal War Chief of the Renard nation, August 3rd 1815, at Prairie du Chien.

"I have been listening with patience to what you have said to the Sauks, and their answers, which comprehends fully the wish of my heart, and they leave me but few words to say. I ask for charity. In case my body is no longer bloody (meaning that if he again went to war, and washed himself as is their custom) do not blame these my brethren, I will be the only person to be scolded."

Captain Anderson seeing his determination to revenge the death of his son on the Americans, feigned anger, got up and reproached him in these words.

"What! You a great Warrior and talk in this way! Had your brave son loitered behind trees and died with fear, would you not have been more ashamed. He died like a brave man, in defence of his wife and children: If there was no risk in going to war, bravery would be out of the question, and the Indians would not wear feathers in their caps (which denotes the number each has killed in battle)."

"Your conduct has made me ashamed, but I attribute it to your not being acquainted with the customs of the English."

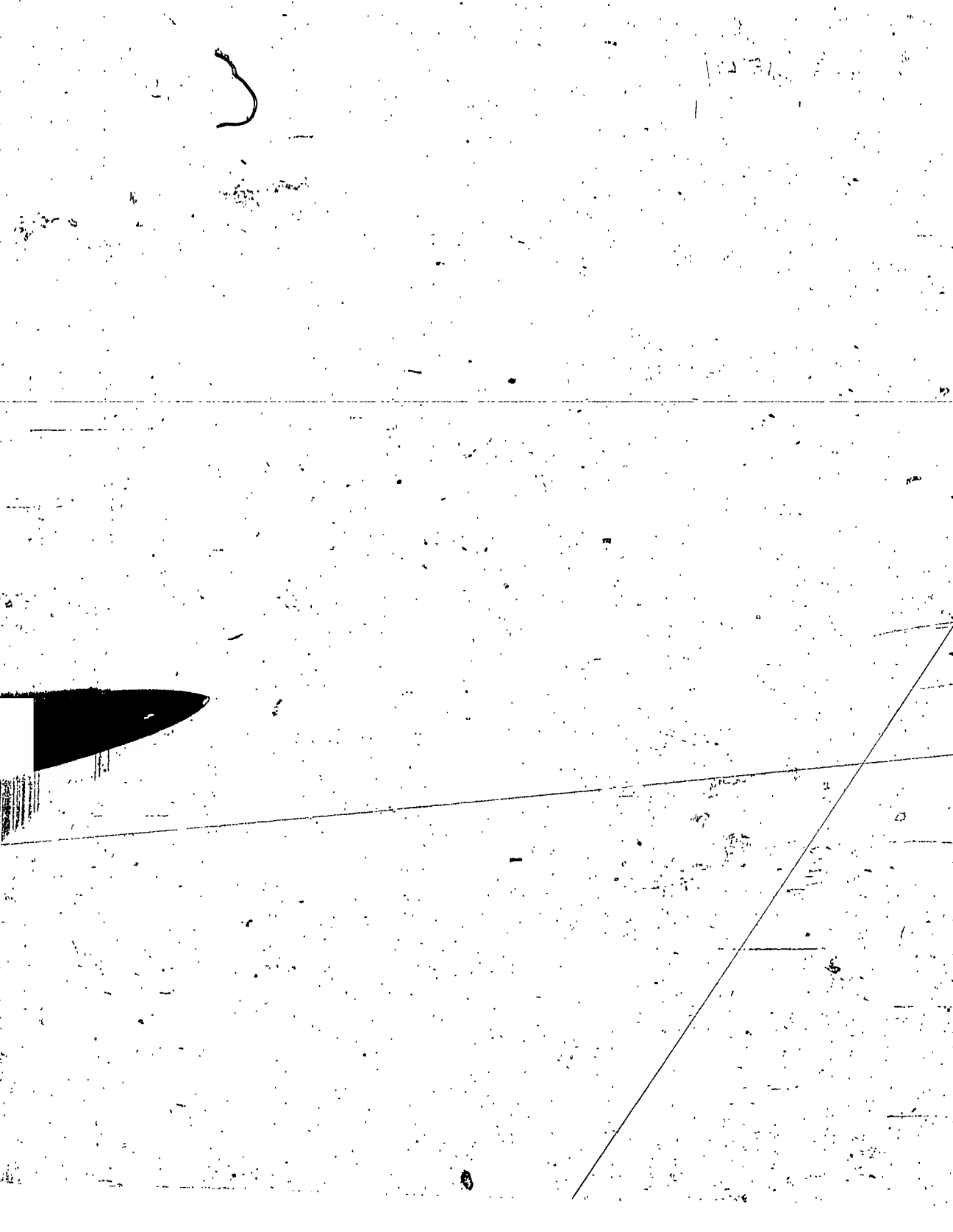
Captain Anderson then gave him a gun and a handsome present, saying

"Put off your mourning with this, and listen to the words of your Father which you have just now heard."

He answered.

"My Father,

I am a fool for acting as I have done, you have given me sense,—I will follow your advice."



## LAST OFFICIAL LETTER FROM CAPTAIN BULGER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL M'DOUALL.

Michilimackinac, 19th June 1815.

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you my arrival at this place, with part of the detachment that composed the garrison of Fort M'Kay; the remainder having been discharged at that post.

On receipt of your despatch of the 25th April, I lost no time in announcing the peace to the Indians of the Mississippi, and in directing them to desist from further hostilities. To those who were assembled at the Prairie du Chiens, I communicated the intelligence myself, observing all the ceremony necessary on such an occasion; and I despatched Captain Dease of the Indian Department to the Red River, to announce it to the Saulks and others in that quarter.

In my previous despatches, I had the honor of stating to you that great ferment, and discontent, existed amongst the Indians, in consequence of the report of peace. Having formally announced that event throughout the country, it became evident that our further stay therein would be productive of very serious consequences; I saw that the delay of even a few days, would afford time to the Indians to assemble from all quarters, and, having strong and sufficient reasons to apprehend hostility from some of them, in effecting a removal from Fort M'Kay, I, with the advice and concurrence of Captain Anderson, senior officer of the Indian Department, decided upon evacuating that post, whilst it was in my power to do so, with safety

to the garrison. Aware of the heavy responsibility attached to such an unauthorized measure, I hesitated, till convinced that, by a longer delay at Fort M'Kay, I only hazarded the lives of my detachment; without, in the least, benefitting the service. I have the honor to enclose a communication from the officer acting at the head of the Indian Department, upon this important subject.

I withdrew from Fort M'Kay on the 24th May; bringing off the public stores, of every description, that could be removed; including the guns, etc. captured therein; in order that they might be restored to the American Government at Michilimackinac; it being impracticable to send them to Saint Louis: of which circumstance, as well as the necessity which compelled me to retire from the Prairie du Chien, I informed the American Government, in a letter addressed to Governor Clarke, on the 23rd May.

The day after my departure from the Mississippi, I had the honor of receiving your despatches of the 1st and 5th May: I also received the batteaux of Indian presents, which I caused to be distributed to the Saulks, and the Indians about the Prairie du Chien.

I have not the smallest doubt, from a perusal of the Treaty of Ghent, and from no demand being made by the American Government, for the restitution of Fort M'Kay, that the Prairie du Chien is considered by them as lying within the Indian boundary, and not to be occupied by either nation. Be this, however, as it may; it is certain, that an attempt to restore it to the American troops, would have proved fatal to the British garrison.

It affords me satisfaction, to be able to say, that I have left the Indians on the Mississippi above want: their situation, in comparison with former years, is comfortable; and I only perform a pleasing duty, in declaring that you are to be considered as the author of their happiness. The liberal supplies of ammunition, with which you had furnished me, have been fairly and judiciously distributed amongst them, under Captain Anderson's superintendence. Their arms, axes, etc., have been repaired; hoes and fish-spears made, and distributed in such numbers, as not only pleased, but astonished them; and all this has been done for one sixth

part of the expense which heretofore attended such services.

I have brought in the detachment of the Michigan Fencibles: also twelve of the Mississippi Volunteers, who solicited a conveyance to this place. Their conduct during the voyage, has been admirable; that of the Michigan Fencibles has completely effaced the recollection of their former misbehaviour. I cannot sufficiently express my approbation of the conduct of all the officers who were under my command. The cordial support which I have received from Captain Anderson, who, since Mr. Dickson's departure from the Mississippi, has conducted the duties of the Indian Department, demands my gratitude: and the uncommon merits, and good conduct of Lieutenant Keating, require that I should recommend him particularly to your notice. The Fort has been destroyed.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient and most humble servant,
(Signed) A. Bulger, Lieut.
R. Newfoundland Regt. late
Capt. Commanding at Fort M'Kay.

Michilimackinac 22nd June 1815.

G.O. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Douall avails himself of an early opportunity to offer to Captain Bulger, the tribute of praise so justly his due, for his judicious, manly, and energetic conduct, while commanding at Fort M'Kay, on the Upper Mississippi. Unawed by that opposition, so industriously exerted to counteract his measures, he has steadily and successfully persevered in the faithful discharge of his duty, under circumstances peculiarly trying and difficult. Merit like this, must, in the end, attain reward and distinction, while its opposers, and the abettors of intrigue, never fail to reap the bitter fruit of their labours, and to lower themselves in the estimation of every man, whose praise is worthy the having. To those officers, who, unseduced by bad example, undeviatingly supported their Commanding Officer, remote as he was from assistance, and environed as he was with difficulties, the Commandant returns his best thanks, particularly to Captain Anderson, of whom Captain Bulger speaks in the highest terms, for his uniform zeal, and unceasing exertion.

Certified.

(Signed) Rt. M'Douall, Lieut. Col.